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saw that the First Consul was absorbing all power, and raised his voice in protest, Bonaparte threw at his feet the estates of Crosne, worth a million, and thus consigned his last rival to silence and to infamy. Henceforth until the Restoration there was but one power in the state ; all else were mere words and shadows. If the proudest of the Bourbons, as is commonly believed, characterized happily by his famous aphorism, *L'état, c'est moi*, both the nature of his government and the identity of the state with himself, there was vastly more both of truth and of egotism in the paraphrase of the *parvenu* Emperor Napoleon, when he declared, "*La France, c'est un homme, et cet homme, c'est moi.*"

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

ART. II. — HENRY FLOOD, AND THE CONDITION OF IRELAND
FROM SWIFT TO O'CONNELL.*

SWIFT did a great work for Ireland by waking up the nation to thought and political action. He found the people dead, and quickened them into life. Before he wrote his books and pamphlets, there was no public opinion in that country. He created it, and as long as he lived he sustained it by his immense vitality. To love liberty, to live and die for it, was the doctrine which he taught. He wanted a parliament that would represent the people, not the old College Green House of Cards and Corruption, which he despised and satirized. But as a leader he was alone in his patriotic desires and hopes, and it seemed for some time after his death as if such liberty as he dreamed of had died with him. But in due time Henry Flood arose, and took the lead of the scattered armies of freedom. He was a man regularly indentured to learning both in Dublin and Oxford, and qualified himself by his studies to be an orator and tribune of the people. He was a true patriot, and one of the most fascinating and charming of men ; a great conversationalist, exceedingly good-tempered, and delighting in social

* Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland. By W. E. H. LECKY. New York : D. Appleton & Son. 1872.

company and debate. He was friendly with everybody, high and low, and was a universal favorite. In 1759 he began his Parliamentary career as member for Kilkenny, at the age of twenty-seven years, and was an opposition man. It was no credit to enter that Parliament unless one went there for the purpose of helping to reform its abuses and intrigues. It was full of corruption and dead men's bones. Mr. Lecky, in his recent book, "*The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*," says that the Stuarts began the borough system in Ireland, and that James I. created forty of these subserviences in the interest of the crown. Out of three hundred members who constituted the Parliament, two hundred were elected by one hundred individuals, and nearly fifty by ten, whilst two hundred and sixteen were returned for boroughs or manors. In 1784 four noblemen returned forty-six members, and an immense pension list was spent in corrupting the constituencies.

These examples are but a fragment of the abuses of the time; and even when the Parliament began to show a small spirit of independence, it was elicited by "selfish interests." The notorious *Poynings' Law*, in Henry VII.'s reign, forbade Ireland to originate or amend any bill of rights, privileges, or civil protection to anybody. Its function was to pass acts which had been approved under the Great Seal of England; and, to increase the bitterness of the insult, the Irish Parliament could not be summoned until that of England had cut and dried the work which it required it to do. "Its sole power," says Mr. Lecky, "was that of respecting the measures thus submitted to it. . . . The ultimate form, therefore, which every Irish measure assumed was determined by the authorities in England, who had the power either of altering or rejecting the bills of the Irish Parliament; and this latter body, though it might reject the bill which was returned to it from England in an amended form, had no power to alter it."

All this was degrading enough. The trade and commerce of the country had been so hampered in Swift's time by restrictions, that in 1729 an Irish author wrote: "The despondency with respect to trade is universal. Men of all degrees give up the thought of improving our commerce. The restrictions are insurmountable, and any attempt on that head would be vain

and fruitless." Ireland had been building up a good woollen trade as well as a first-class linen manufacture. But England, in her short-sighted policy, choked out the former because her own people wanted that branch of industry all to themselves, and William pledged himself to a company of English merchants in 1698 to ruin that trade in Ireland, although he was willing that the Irish should retain their linen trade. But the woollen manufacture was, according to Mr. Lecky, "the chief form of Irish industry"; for that of linen, owing to restrictive laws, even so late as 1700, amounted in exports to not more than fourteen thousand pounds sterling per annum. It was not until the woollen business was utterly destroyed in Ireland, that this struggling, persistent people were permitted to export white and brown linens to the English colonies, although they could not exchange them for colonial produce! The linen trade originated with French Protestant refugees, and the concession to export was a boon to Protestants and not to Catholics, and the very bill for the relief of the linen trade sets forth in the opening clause that "the Protestant interest in Ireland ought to be supported by encouraging the linen manufactures of the kingdom, with a due regard to the interest of their dear brother Protestants, of course, her Majesty's good subjects of her said kingdom"!

Now Swift had created a public opinion against all this, and all the oppressions which choked the life out of the Irish people. Flood in his turn came, and with a learning and eloquence such as the ears of men were not much familiar with in those days, he denounced them, and sought to make Ireland a free country. As an opposition leader he was the terror of the Tories, and his raillery and wit and withering sarcasms made the whole House tremble at times, for no one knew upon whom he might next descend in his wrath. Hely Hutchinson, provost of Trinity College, and a political and commercial writer of great ability, was the one sole man who feared him not, but delighted rather in breaking lances and battle-axes with him. Flood's Parliamentary efforts told with great effect outside, and his armies of opposition were both within and without the walls of the House. He made himself popular by advocating short Parliaments, and the cutting down of the monstrous pen-

sion lists which were merely used to corrupt voters and make placemen. His most popular measure was the formation of a constitutional militia, and his ceaseless iteration of the right of Ireland to govern herself, maintaining, as Molyneux had done before him, that the Irish Parliament had anciently all the rights and supreme powers of legislation which belonged to that of England, and that no act passed by England for the government of Ireland was, or could be, valid, unless it originated with the Irish Parliament, and was passed into a law by that body. Flood was assisted in his powerful agitation by Charles Lucas, an eminent Irish politician, who was as brave and heroic a patriot as he was eloquent and learned. Irish independence was his aim throughout life, and he attacked the oppressive acts of England so mercilessly, that his speeches were ordered to be publicly burned, and in 1794 he was proclaimed a traitor to the Parliament, and fled to England to save his life. During his residence in that country he lost the use of his limbs, and on his return to Ireland he was obliged to deliver his speeches sitting. Flood was one of the writers of the Barataria papers, modelled after the style of Junius, and which created a sensation little short of that which the famous Letters of Junius had produced. Flood's performances were signed *Syndercombe*, and Mr. Lecky says "that they are powerful and well reasoned," but too labored and smelling of the oil. The Letters of Junius were attributed to him at one time, but without any satisfactory proof. He was one of the few publicists in Ireland whose life was not attended by any suspicion of treachery or duplicity. And yet he failed of his ambition, and though the greatest orator Ireland had yet produced, he sank down into comparative obscurity faster than he had risen to eminence. When Lord Harcourt succeeded Lord Townsend in the government of the country, Flood took his stand as an independent member and supported him. But when he accepted the office of Vice-Treasurer under that administration, he seems all in a moment to have lost caste, influence, and the confidence of the people. He vindicated himself in 1783 in reply to Grattan, who had mercilessly pricked him to political death with sharp pins of wit. Mr. Lecky discusses his motives to this act, and on the whole inclines to his defence. "The American war,"

he says, "and the arms of the volunteers, gave an impulse to the national cause which no man then alive could have predicted." Flood's aim was to make the Irish Parliament as independent as that of England; and when Lord Townsend was superseded by a new viceroy, and the popular irritation caused by his rule was allayed, Flood's party declined, according to Mr. Lecky, and was henceforth powerless in all directions save that of modifying the course of events. It was then that Flood advised the patriot party to join issue with the government, and direct as far as possible all its acts to the public good. But this advice, although Townsend's successor (Lord Harcourt) was a most just and honorable man, was sure to beget suspicion of its integrity and singleness of purpose, because it involved the postponement of Irish Parliamentary independence. And so Flood's misfortunes and the final failure of his life began, although he did all that a true patriot could do to prove that "national principles were compatible with perfect attachment to the crown."

He was identified with all the great measures for Irish reform in his time. He was ambitious, but neither place nor money nor rank had any power over him. He liked to be esteemed as the foremost man among the patriots; and indeed he was so, to the end of his career, in spite of his final misfortunes. But his office gagged him for the seven years during which he held it; and as he had changed his policy and to some extent his opinions, the popular party fell away from him, and he was left on his rock with the vulture of discontent gnawing at his vitals. Singularly enough, this man of the people and of liberty was opposed to the American patriots, and believed that their success would ruin England. He called the four thousand Irish troops sent to fight against them "armed negotiators"; and Mr. Lecky says that it was this unfortunate expression to which Grattan alluded when he said of him in his celebrated invective, "that he stood with a metaphor in his mouth, and a bribe in his pocket, a champion against the rights of America, — the only hope of Ireland and the only refuge of the liberty of mankind." By this emigration of troops Ireland was left unprotected, with the French threatening the capital.

It was at this crisis that Ireland, stung with the disgrace which her rulers had brought upon her, roused herself from one end of the island to the other, and, merging all distinctions of race and creed and political parties, called every man to arms for its defence. In an incredibly short time sixty thousand Protestants and Catholics responded to the summons, "disciplined," says Mr. Lecky, "and appointed as a regular army, fired by the strongest enthusiasm, and moving as a single man." Flood was among them, an officer of this sudden army of freedom, — as grand as ever in his intellect, as pure as ever in his character. There, too, was Henry Grattan, "the orator," as Mr. Lecky says, "whose burning sentences became the very proverbs of freedom." And these men and this army were assembled to repel foreign aggression, and to crush an alien and corrupt parliament. "They knew their duty to their sovereign, they were loyal; they knew their duty to themselves, and they were resolved to be free." This was one of their own resolutions, and against such a devoted and enthusiastic body of men, what power could avail?

Another "opportunity for Ireland" had come, and they made the most of it, threatening the empire. England was absorbed with all her populations in war; what could she do against them? They remembered the long centuries of wrong through which they had passed, and by which they had been scathed, robbed, and degraded; their religion a mockery and by-word; their commerce destroyed, that English traders might supersede them. They were maddened by these oppressions, and they planted two cannons before the doors of their convention with these words inscribed upon them, "Free-trade or this!" Can we blame them? Every branch of Irish industry, except the linen trade, had been ruined by cool and deliberate laws. A few trifling reliefs had been granted to Ireland in her commerce, but all the great leading disabilities were unrepealed. Perhaps Lord North would have yielded large reforms to them but for the opposition of the industrial districts of the North of England and of Scotland, — Manchester and Glasgow. The Irish were in earnest, and pledged themselves at great meetings never to consume nor import any articles of English manufacture until they had got free-trade. In 1779 Burgh

moved as an amendment to the address from the throne a petition for the "extension of trade"; when Flood, who was still a minister, proposed to add the words "free-trade" instead, and eloquently defended the amendment, which was carried only because sixty thousand men were in arms out of doors, and a nation had demanded it at the hands of their terrified oppressors. The chief restrictions which crushed the Irish energy and enterprise were subsequently renewed by the action of Lord North; the Irish could now export their woollens and glass, and the markets of the colonies were open to them.

Flood felt all the burdens of his position, and soon after threw up his office as minister and returned to his old compatriots. But his overwhelming influence was gone, and his place in the House knew him no more forever as a great leader. Grattan was the rising star in Parliament. Flood felt the change bitterly. In 1779 Yelverton moved for the repeal of Poynings' infamous law; and with the petulance of a child Flood rose and complained that his twenty years of popular service and special study of this very question were forgotten, and that another had reaped the harvest he had sown. Yelverton with Irish aptness and impromptu replied, "I will call to the mind of the honorable gentleman that if a man desert his wife for seven years, she is no longer bound to him according to the civil law, but may leave him, and another man may take her and give her his protection." It was a passage of deep humiliation, which must have told fearfully upon Flood's sensitive nature.

It was a great fact the achievement of the independence of Parliament in 1782, but it was coerced from the English by the Irish patriots, and was sure, eventually, to have all manner of obstacles thrown in its way to impede its free action. The English Parliament, nevertheless, repealed soon after its Declaratory Act, by which the dependence of the Irish Parliament was enacted. What is called the simple repeal controversy involved Poynings' law, which the English maintained made the Irish Parliament subservient to them and their rulers, whilst the Irish patriots denied the premises and the conclusion. They insisted that an express renunciation should be

made by England ; but this, it was argued, would be equivalent to a confession of England's superiority, when the object was to get an equal recognition for both Parliaments. Grattan, however, was opposed to any further demands of concession from the English, and maintained that the repeal of the act was a resignation of the pretended right. Flood represented the party that was not satisfied with this repeal, and his adhesion to it gave it weight and importance, and prolonged a useless and irritating discussion. That he was in earnest, his last great speech upon the subject sufficiently proves, in which he calls upon God to bear him testimony that if he were then using his last breath he would go on and make his exit by a loud demand for the people's liberties. It was in the fury of this battle about a bubble that Flood and Grattan's long alienation came to a crisis which separated them forever. Thus the only two great men of sterling integrity on the popular side, whose united efforts hitherto had done so much for Ireland, were lost to the national cause, so far as concerted action was concerned. Flood was jealous of Grattan. He was older than his rival, quite as eloquent, learned, and brilliant as he, with a vaster amount of experience to guide him. He had made this question his own, and had raised the war-cry of Parliamentary independence when Grattan was in his leading-strings. He could not brook the thought of playing second to a stripling, however talented and influential ; for hitherto for twenty years he had been the leading personage in Irish politics, and sat in Parliament sixteen years before Grattan entered it. Grattan on this occasion threw down the gauntlet by some ungenerous remarks on Flood's recent sickness ; whereupon the latter arose, and delivered a most fierce, angry, and independent speech, in which he charged Grattan with taking a bribe from the Parliament, stigmatizing him as a " mendicant patriot who was bought by his country, and sold that country for prompt payment." He alluded to a grant of £100,000 made to him by Parliament in recognition of his services, — a large sum in those days, only half of which Grattan could be induced to take. This was as ungenerous in Flood as Grattan's allusion to Flood's sickness was mean and unpardonable. Grattan's reply had evidently been long pre-

pared, to be ready for just such an emergency, and his invective was, as Mr. Lecky says, for concentrated and crushing power almost or altogether unrivalled in modern oratory. These two great men, although they subsequently did justice each to the other's character and abilities, were never friendly again; nor did they ever again pull together at the oars that urged the ship of state through deep waters.

Flood was always influential with the volunteers, and his voice was powerful in the convention, many of whose members were for an open war with England. Some of the patriots were for the dissolution of the convention. Flood was desirous of introducing a reform bill, and of securing the support of the convention to its measures. He could not therefore agree to its dissolution; for this would be like lopping off the chief stay of his strength and power. He had secured the renunciation of all England's claims of supremacy, and had therefore achieved, as he believed, the absolute independence of the Irish Parliament. He now sought to reform the Parliament, so that no traitor could sit there and sell it to the "alien" government by selling himself. He designed to base the Parliament upon the people's will, and make corruption impossible. But even Flood proved himself to be a narrow and limited statesman. In his Reform Bill he added nothing to the political power of the Catholics, although to Protestants the franchise was largely extended. On the other hand, it anticipated the later English county vote of freeholders owning property of the value of forty shillings, by giving votes to such property-holders for boroughs, with a view to throwing all these close-pocket constituencies wide open. Votes were also to be given to leaseholders of thirty-one years, where fifteen of the years had yet to run out. In cases of rotten boroughs he proposed to extend the franchise to the adjoining parishes, and to exclude all pensioners from Parliament who held these gratuities during pleasure, and to cause all who accepted office or a pension for life to vacate their seats. Moreover, this bill made it imperative that every member should swear he had neither bribed anybody to vote for him, nor caused any agent to bribe for him. It further enacted that Parliament should be triennial.

This is Mr. Lecky's analysis of the bill, and had it passed he says it would have effectually cured the corruptions of the Irish Parliament, although he stigmatizes it for its cruel, unjust, and oppressive treatment of the Catholics. The Attorney-General, Yelverton, and most of the members who spoke, opposed the bill, and Yelverton denounced it as an insult because it came from an armed body who threatened to rule the country by a military council. The votes were 158 to 49, and the majority were state paupers. The volunteers were censured by the House, and Lord Charlemont, the President, adjourned it *sine die*. To their honor be it stated that the members made no opposition, but returned to their homes and avocations as if they were leaving a political gathering in some hall of the capital, — a cheering fact, which their enemies never expected to see realized in action. So ended the agitation for the greatest reform bill ever proposed in Britain; for that of Lord John Russell, the demand for which on New Hall Hill in Birmingham, by Atwood with his two hundred thousand men, who there assembled, had made even Wellington tremble in his white waistcoat in the House of Lords, although he laughed at the thunders of Waterloo, — Lord John Russell's bill, we say, was not nearly so comprehensive as this of Flood. The organized armies of Ireland at that time amounted to one hundred thousand men; and if the mad dandy Bishop of Derry had been their leader, he would assuredly have precipitated a war with England; and, what is more, England would have stood less chance at that time, according to Mr. Lecky, to have put down such a large and well-disciplined army as these volunteers had become, than at any previous or subsequent period of her history. Her wars had exhausted her, and both men and money were scarce.

The penal laws were nearly all repealed by this time, and the Catholics were slowly and peaceably advancing towards their final emancipation. Ireland had revived and sprung into new life through the teachings of that mighty Dean Swift, as will be evident to all who may compare the intellectual and political condition of the people when he first appeared upon the scene, with that which made itself so deeply felt at the close of Flood's career. One is sorry, however, to find that a

man like Flood should have been so uniformly intolerant in all matters affecting the emancipation of the Catholics. It was a great and damaging blot upon his character, and at a time when there could be no fear of Catholic ascendancy, and so many of the first Protestant patriots of the land were in favor of their equality with them before the law in all things. His standing out against their freedom goes far to bankrupt his claims to unselfish patriotism and greatness. The personal enmity which now existed between him and Grattan very largely influenced his later politics. He was for the continued existence of the convention, although the French war was over, and Grattan was resolutely and firmly against it as a standing menace to the Parliament and the government. After its adjournment *sine die*, as we have said and seen, a portion of the volunteers, through some secret and some open influence, were banded into a powerless organization from whose final dissolution, Mr. Lecky tells us, the United Irishmen's Society sprang into existence.

Flood never ceased to agitate a reform of the Parliament, but without any chance of success. He subsequently entered the English Parliament, and his career there was a lamentable failure, which poisoned the rest of his days. His first speech on the India Bill killed him, and an Irishman named Courtenay apotheosized his death in a speech which, as he told Lord Byron, was steeped to its extreme ultimate in the bitterest personal animosity. He made one more attempt to redeem his reputation by bringing forward a new reform bill in 1790, and he proved in his introductory speech that he could still bend the old bow of Ulysses. The main feature of it was the election of one hundred new Parliament men chosen by county household suffrage; and Burke very highly extolled his speech upon the occasion as well as the new measure he proposed.

During the remainder of his life he lived a recluse, and fell into gloomy moods and petulant and angry speech. He died in 1791, alone in his chamber, and no human eye saw him breathe his last; for he sent his people out of the room and gave up the ghost like a Roman. He bequeathed a large property to the Dublin University, for the special encouragement of the study of the old Erse tongue and the purchase of ancient Irish manuscripts.

We cannot but be sorrowful over the fate of this brave, high-minded, and heroic man. His country was his idol, and her freedom and independence of England were the summit of his life's ambition. Few public men ever passed scathless through such a baptism of fire as Flood had to encounter every day of his life. Swift found Ireland in a very similar condition to that which Lord Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the great secret society of progress found England in Elizabeth's and James's time. And as the members of the society created a dramatic literature, which, enacted upon the stage,—and thereby appealing to the EYE in *living diagrams*, as Bacon expresses it, as well as to the intellect and the conscience, through the ear,—familiarized the people with the noblest sentiments of liberty, culminating in later times in the Cromwell Commonwealth, so did Swift by his stories, allegories, pamphlets, and speeches create a public opinion in Ireland when all the outside world thought that it was a dead country, with no possibilities of resurrection abiding in it. And this “opinion” was sustained nobly by the patriotic efforts of Flood throughout his career, bringing about the independence of Parliament, and the removal of commercial restrictions, and the abrogation of the penal laws. He thus prepared the way for the fiery and impassioned energies of Grattan in the same direction of national progress; and through Grattan the mighty tides rolled on to the days of the great O'Connell and the repeal agitation.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS.